/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
• 302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
[413] face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--52 E-5 (1953) 1954 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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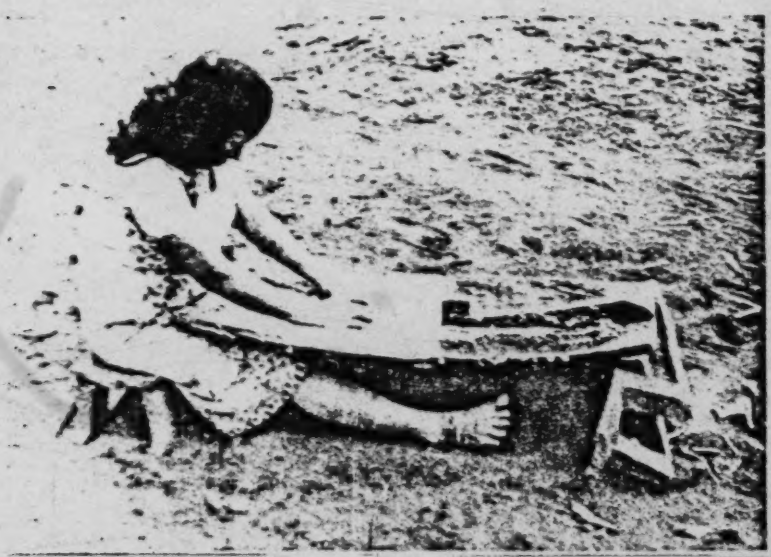

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

4: Silva--18 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 17 in the original source/

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Wanana girls (the younger one has a Taryana mother; the older one, a Kubêwana)

Pirá-tapuya types (from the settlement Patu, Papuri River)

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Newborn Pirá-tapuya child (with the prophylactic painting of carajura)

.4: Silva--45 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

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/Illustrations facing p. 32 in the original source/

Tukano type (painted for the dances) (settlement of Iua-pixuna, Papuri River)

Woman of the Aõnira or Íde-masã tribe

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Girls of the Makú tribe (the younger one had her hair cut in the initiation rite)

/73 cont./

142 144 Black hair, or more commonly dark brown, almost black, straight, shiny, coarse and thick; many times, though, burned by the sun (6).

6. Among the Makú, Íde-masã, Roéra-masã, Yebá-masã, Hanẽrã, Edúrya, and Ba:re-masã, cymotrichous types are common. We could see and photograph some women who exhibited black hair that was fine and cacheados /curled in ringlets/.

178 • 302 The ones who have attended school wear it in a regular length, combed, and parted on the left side; the others have it cut with scissors with a short fringe on the forehead, behind the ears, and on the neck. Up to a century ago they used to let it grow in long braids (7),

7. A. Russell Wallace wrote in 1850: "The men do not cut the hair, they let it hang in front in a long braid, tying it around with cords, or they let it fall in the middle of the back, often as far as the thighs. The hair of the women falls loosely over the shoulders and is cut with a moderate length" (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 616).

which might reach as far as the thigh. The women, instead, trimmed it a little, perhaps in order not to be inconvenienced in their work. Today the women have it a little below the shoulders, more or less fastened with a ribbon or pin. One sees some children with the hair quite shorn, but growing in breadth, as if it were a lion's mane (8).

8. Hair cut this way, "like a lion's mane," although with a wider zone, that is, about 5 or 6 centimeters, has been seen, likewise, in caboclo children of the Rio Negro. Perhaps the natives have imitated these examples.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

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34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

• 302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

4: Silva--398 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/Illustrations facing p. 272 in the original source./

Cesário (Tukano octogenarian shaman)

The shamans:
(right) Marcelino (Wanana from Jacaré, river Uaupés)
(left) Eduardo (Huhúdeni from Uapuim-cachoeira, river Siari, trib. of the Içana)

*[192]
[534]

Tukano shamans:
Marcelino from Juquira (right)
Henrique from the Japú igarapé (left), playing the chõ

4: Silva--399 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 273 in the original source./

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From early childhood the little girls are used to chores (manner of carrying the py:)

One of the feminine occupations

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2) Designs on the body. They also execute various designs on the body. They might have their magic meaning, but they undoubtedly reveal an artistic tendency and, in some cases, are done with care and mastery (49).

49. We do not believe that painting on the body is an indication of a period of nomadism: "not having any place to execute their drawings, they did them on their own body." We venture the opinion, instead, that they have a decorative character (they are, thus, an indication of artistic tendency), besides supposing them endowed with magic powers (prophylactic virtues, etc.).

4 Notice 1st. -- The paintings do not bear clear totemic representations, unless it is only a matter of a stylization, the meaning of which the present-day natives seem not to know (50).

[532]

50. Koch Grünberg (Z.I. 349) found numerous anthropomorphic drawings and drawings of plants and animals, sometimes more or less stylized, among the Arwake of the Içana and the Wanana and Kubewana of the upper Uaupés. And he also states that figures the same as those on the bark walls and posts of the maloca appear, during the feasts, on the bodies of the Indians, as well as on their pots and dance objects. He moreover points out the sculpture of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic and of animals, not only in wood, but also executed in ears of maize and hung on the beams and posts of the maloca by means of a string.

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2nd. -- What is called Nõ'õsé or face painting is semi-circles with the concave part upwards, on the forehead, and straight lines in a V on the side of the zygomata and on the face. Ordinarily, to execute these designs they use the Mumí-kha, that is, a small stick, like a lipstick, having on one of the tips a ball of wax to which adheres the colored powder, which is taken out of the small cuia in which it is kept and is applied to the face.

3rd. -- On the trunk and limb they execute various designs, We'ẽ ohasé, all, however, consisting of straight lines. In some cases, at the great dances of the dabacurí, the whole body is painted as if it were a robe, with lengthwise and transverse strokes. The process for these paintings is that called We-oharí-tyĩ, that is, they take a small cylinder of a very light wood, called molongó (in Tukano Poó-gõ; it is the ambelânia grandíflora, of the family of the Apocynaceae), with carvings corresponding to the lines that one wishes, and, while the color is fresh, they roll it against the skin where it leaves quite regular traces. They likewise use fine splints of

Design imprinted with the molongó cylinder

arumĩ, not infrequently two or three tied together as a paint brush, leaving a double or triple stroke. There are also coarse strokes executed with the index finger moistened in the color.

[184] There are not, at present, marks that characterize the tribes, as the first explorers suggest. The same designs are observed in the various tribes.

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*192 • 302 386 824 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõñá or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or parirí, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'sã or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

4: Silva--434 M-4, 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/295 cont./

• 302 All these colors are quite resistant, since they last many days,
386 in spite of their frequent baths.

*[192] Very frequently one finds women with the face more or less powdered with red; it is the painting called Tu-dyó-kũsé. They explained that it is only in order not to feel the heat of the sun so much during the work in the clearing. These powders are prepared with the urucú and carajurú.

304 They do not use true tattooing, and the natives of the present generation do not even seem to know about it (53).

53. Wallace, however, stated a century ago (o. c.): -- "These Indians (of the Uaupés) make tattoos, but on a small scale: for this they practice along the arms a row of pricks of circular shape. The Tucanos are distinguished from the other tribes by three vertical blue lines that they draw on the upper lip in place of mustaches." Through the ancient explorers we know of the tattoos of other tribes of the Amazon, for example, the Yavarí, Urupá, Suarirana, Periquita, all located on the river Tapajoz (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of 1759, n. 54). As for the tribes of the Rio Negro (without specifying whether the natives of the Uaupés are included), Cônego /Canon/ Andre Fernandes de Souza writes (o. c. 455): "Some pierce the ears, lips, and nose, into which they introduce feathers and sticks, these operations costing them unbearable pain; others draw on the skin many permanent black lines, using these industrious deformities, not so much for distinction of their tribe, as in order to cause an imposturous terror in their enemies." Concerning the Desana, 50 years ago Koch G. (Z. I. 264) stated that they are the only ones of the Caiarí who use tattooing executed with the palm thorn. This is two parallel blue lines, from the lower lip to the chin.

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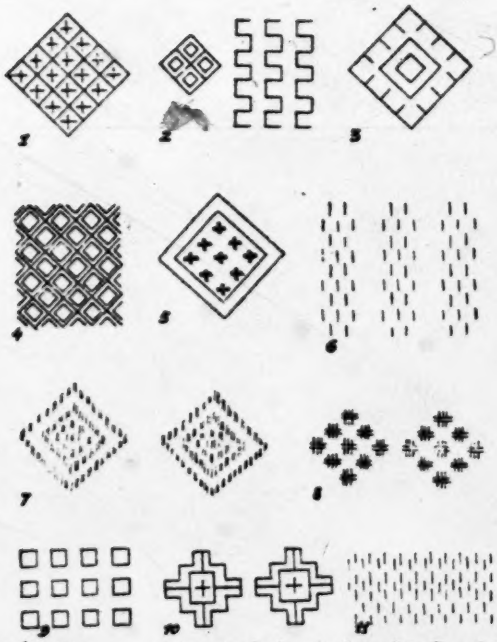

1. Yóãsõ paxkó sẽ'ẽma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkõ-rõ ó:ri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sẽ'rá -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahũ-dõxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ó:ri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pía ó:rí -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Ũhuri sẽ'ẽma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ó:ri mãrí -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dõ'pó-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yóãsõ sẽ'ẽma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

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3) Designs on objects.

The Baniva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

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There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

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d) Plumage and adornment.

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The native ornaments are many; the most striking ones are for the men (59),

> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

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> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

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The ancient travelers speak (61)

> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

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*192 562 178 291 e) Puericueio. It is the feminine tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ that we discussed before (VI -- 3, a), in Tukano yax'kẽ waxsó-ro. Nowadays they only use it in the dances and very rarely (65) /sic; 64/.

> 64. "In their festivals, when they dance, the women then put on a small tanga or apron, made of beads arranged in regular patterns, with much taste and much caprice. This tanga is about six square inches in size. It is never worn on other occasions, so that, once the feast is over, the women take it off immediately" (Wallace -- "Viagens," etc., p. 630).

*192 301 562 f) Wreath. At times during the dances the women fit to their heads a wreath of branches from that shrub of pleasant and intense aroma called bará. It is what is called bará pu'sasé in Tukano.

[177] g) Many women and girls habitually wear curved combs of striking colors, i'ĩ be'tó or i'ĩ-ro be'tó, obtained from the civilized. A century ago, according to Wallace, they did not wear any comb.

2) Masculine adornment.

• [302] For the dances the men paint the face and the body, as was said above.

[178] a) Stone of command. We call it this because it is actually a badge of the tuxauas, who wear it hanging at the neck on solemn occasions (dances, reception for some civilized, etc.). Nowadays it is a rare ornament, and few own it. The ouvidor /auditor/ Xavier Sampaio (cf. above, II -- 3), following Pe. José Noronha, mentions the existence of this ornament and gives it as an indicator and classifier, by its size, of the nobleness of the wearer. In Tukano it is called õxtã bohá, that is, clear stone. It is a piece of amorphous quartz, quite smooth, cylindrical in shape, and about 15 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 in diameter.

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*192 291 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 • 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá íf-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá. [197]

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

4: Silva--472 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

* 192 /Illustrations facing p. 320 in the original source/
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Festival of the offering of the cunuri (waxpõ poosé)

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Rite of the cigar and legendary commemorations

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments

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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua from Caruru-Cachoeira (river Uaupés), adorned for the dances (acangatara, necklaces, and stone of the husband /marido, "husband," should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahũ-pawõ)

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796 574 Such formalistic greetings last an hour and a half. Afterwards the ritual banquet starts, without any further pragmatica, each eating whatever pleases him: first the men, more or less grouped in the front part of the maloca; afterwards the women and children, in groups at the back of the maloca.

[785] [273] Once this meal is finished, the ritual fast begins, that is, abstention from any food. It is only permissible to take some of the drink prepared for the feast. They do this, helping themselves copiously, even excessively, to the drink, which, besides, is very nourishing, being as it is, in reality, a thin pap (49).

[123] 49. On a certain occasion, after eleven hours of laborious passage through the forest, we arrived at a maloca of the Bará, located near the headwaters of the stream called marĩya (tributary of the Tiquié), when a feast was being given there. One of our traveling companions, of the Bará tribe, who should have been very tired and undernourished, like all of us, since he was carrying the heaviest load, did not accept the food that was prepared for those of our retinue. He preferred to participate in the feast with his "brothers," and contented himself with only beijú caxirĩ.

2) Preparation for the dances.

*[192] The tuxáua, at a certain moment, tells the chief of the visitors that the banquet is finished and "he may open the box of the decorations" (mahã poári axká-ro).

*[192] /344/ The women of the maloca come to fit the bands (uxtá-seri) to the guests' legs, below the knee, and to execute the body painting. The woman who painted him will be the guest's dance partner. It falls to the man, Pe. Humberto Limpens and the Tukano Antônio Barreto note, to paint the woman, and

/344 cont./
796 vice versa (50).

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50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom
*[192] they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõó wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

[301]
[554] The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests
*[192] play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance
796 as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/
535 (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a)); it is a sign that the dances

/383 cont./

291 534 562 As we have already said (VI-3), the Waxsó-ro does not seem to be a "dress of decency" for the men. As a matter of fact, one finds big boys without the Waxsó-ro, with only the cord as a belt. The men readily take it off in the presence of other persons. Some have it so small and imperfect that it hardly covers them, and one does not perceive any concern about adjusting it well. Therefore we conclude that it is only dress for protection in the forest (105).

[115]

105. In May of 1954 we made known to a Karapanã Indian, Vicente by name, a resident for several years in Uaracapá (river Papuri), our desire to visit the region of the Karapanãs, of the headwaters of the Áua. Spontaneously, as though to warn us, he told us that over there they still did not wear any clothes. After this excursion, talking to a Tukano lady, already Christian and who since 1926 has been living with the Irmã Missionárias /Missionary Sisters/, in answer to the question as to why the men wore the Waxsó-ro and the women nothing, we heard her respond that the women "did not need a protection," physically, like the men.

[796] [302] As for the feminine Waxsó-ro, in our opinion it might be a "dress of adornment" or "of attraction." 1st. not so much because those of tucum, such as those of beads in particular, are artistic; 2nd. as because of the fact that they are so small that they do not cover sufficiently; 3rd. and that they are wom exclusively during the feasts, together with the paintings (106).

178 562 292 106. We were informed by the natives themselves that, while the men at the feasts, besides the small Waxsó-ro, also adopt the large one, appropriate for the dances, the women

/383 cont./

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/footnote 106 cont./ nowadays rarely wear Waxsó-ro, not even as a dance ornament. Some persons declared to us that they had never seen a feminine Waxsó-ro made of glass beads, the Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro, and that the women always walked around destitute of clothing.

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About the paintings, we know that they consider them only as adornment.

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As for the delicate parts, it does not seem that they are the breasts. As a matter of fact, some appear with the bust uncovered without bashfulness. During the dances they decorate the breasts with red circles, which still remain for several days. And there is no great circumspection with the legs either, because, when they sit down or squat, they draw the skirt between the legs, but leave the legs and thighs uncovered.

[178]

It seems that they are impressed more by the persons' bust, hence the greater care on the part of the natives, even those who already have /384/ relations with the civilized, in having it uncovered and painted for the dances (107),

> 107. Without perceiving that she was being observed (so it seems to us), we were able to note a young Bará woman, soon after the rite of her puberty initiation, absorbed in painting her own breasts, with the red powder of carajurú /carajura/, which she had wrapped in a leaf. A little girl of about 5 or 6 years of age at once tried to imitate her, with similar designs.

perhaps while the rest of the body is covered with pants or skirt.

[832]

Some natives assured us positively of the attraction that the men feel by the women's bust.

/397 cont./

535 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara
237 feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red
301 arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge.
• [302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmũ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely
*[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyó).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara; at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify
534 whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the
534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with
535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He
*[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of [608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/. [302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the [824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present [273] help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving [178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed that everything takes place still today just as it was written by that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native ceremonies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier, have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment [276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar. Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to leave in the center, between the front door and the back door, a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen. [782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/442 cont./

881 562 During this time, which runs from three days to four weeks, according to the tribe, the young girl will always be shut in, she cannot take a bath, she will go out only when necessary and quickly, trying not to meet anyone.

562 881 There, while the girl is kept seated on a stool, her hair will be cut by a woman who is called mõ-paxkoã, that is, godmother • 302 608 of initiation (77).

> 77. This godmother will call the girl Yõ-seːko, my hair-cut; and the maiden will call her Yõõ-ré seːko, the one who cut me (my hair).

"It is in order to exchange for new hair" was the only explanation. According to information obtained by Koch G. (Z. I. 357), the girl's hair was used for making the masks of Wãx-tĩ. Thus one more element of connection between the puberty rite and the cult of Wãx-tĩ appears.

*[192] The face and especially the body are liberally painted with black dyá-wé dye by another woman, who is likewise considered Paxkoã. Both of the godmothers will receive some gift from the girl and also have a right to her services. The body painting is done as usual, by means of the molongó cylinder (VII-3, b(2)).

For the haircut they used the sharp teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmo of different species) and other animals. For this reason, wrote Stradelli, the tribes of the Rio Negro, who spoke Nheengatú, when the use of scissors was introduced, called them Piranha. The artifact for the cutting of the hair among the Tukano is called Dõxpóseːrõ.

*[192] The Mõ-paxkoã or the mother herself in some tribes pours water with pepper through her nose, using a funnel of the leaf of /443/ õhoã pũrĩ or yõxsõ-pũri, "in order to become illuminated" (78).

> 78. "To have the face or skin become illuminated" is an expression that we have heard frequently among the young female informants. It seems

/443 cont./

562
881
• [302]
[608]

/footnote 78 cont./ to mean a healthy coloring of the face, and in some cases it seems to us to have the meaning of "illuminátio vultus" /vultus, "look, appearance"/ of the Jews.

"the fat to go from the face, and to remain always young."

When the cutting of the hair and the painting of the face have been done, no person may enter the place of seclusion except the pajé or Ko-mũ, the young man, and the girl's mother (and, lacking the latter, the grandmother or woman on whom the young woman depends), and the Mõ-paxkoá herself. She will fast a great deal; the only foods permitted are beijú, small fish (jacundá, pirámirim), ant, mexkã (manivara /termite queen/), and sirákaro (beijú of tapioca). She uses the manivara (explained Patricia Vasconcelos) "because it does not have fat and the pajé has broken its stinger."

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*[192]

She will, moreover, be subjected to painful tests: she will spend long hours seated on the floor and all of the last night in vigil. The pajé or the Ko-mũ, bending over the fire, covers her with a strainer, and he will "blow" over her, while she remains seated, with her head bowed upon her crossed arms.

During this ceremony he brings her a cuia with pepper and gives it to her to smell, "in order for the face to remain always smooth," that is, not to be left early with a wrinkled face. Simultaneously he instructs her concerning the duties of a wife and mother.

[756]
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Some of these instructions by the pajé, as the informants related to us, are: "to have good behavior toward her own mother -- to work hard -- not to do as the others do (?) -- when young to work harder -- to be kind toward the elders, to stay away from the piraboto /bouto/ -- to avoid the great snake because it swallows (that is, fecundates) the woman -- she must prepare food for the man -- work in the clearing -- not to get much sun, because otherwise she will quickly grow old -- to

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244 A woman is proud of two aspects of her work in gardening: total
433 productivity and the quality of her manioc cake. Productivity reflects
[462] favorably upon her own efforts and, even more important, upon the efforts of her husband, who makes the clearing. The quality of manioc cake depends upon the quality of the tubers and upon the variety of manioc cultivated. Women are knowledgeable about manioc. They
244 are familiar with many varieties, their food qualities as well as their
242 characteristics of growth. They are experimental as well. When wom-
[571] en from different communities meet, they talk about manioc farming, exchange information, and very often exchange cuttings. Thus, a garden includes five or six varieties of manioc. The *Bahúkiwa* cul-
[439] tivated eight varieties, one of which, a yellow variety, they had obtained from Indians on the Amazon below Manaos. Like any good farmer, a woman in the course of time eliminates poor strains for
[252] better ones. Many women have personal recipes for a manioc cake
244 blended from several varieties of tuber. Gardening, being a woman's
462 domain, is a totally secular activity. If crops grow poorly the women

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Fig. 3. Preparing manioc.

A few communities
rear ducks in the same manner, 231
and some Indians have experimented valiantly with rearing pigs as 235
pets.

The trade element in Cubeo experimentation with plants and 123
animals is important but not, to repeat, the exclusive interest. I had 245
been living among the *Bahúkiwa* a short time when they learned of 439
my liking for fruit. I was constantly presented with fruit, some wild and some cultivated. I usually made some payment in the form of a small gift. Word spread along the Cuduiarí. One morning I saw a fleet of a dozen canoes or so, each heaped high with bananas, plantains, pineapple, lemons, and oranges, coming to the community. It was all for me, brought in the expectation that I would reciprocate with a gift. This transaction, however, was an unusual one, for normally the Indians have no market for any food product but dry manioc – farinha. They have no great taste for fruit and grow more [262] than they normally consume for the sheer satisfaction of growing it. [302] Lemons, for example, are used by women to prepare a hair wash.

MANUFACTURES

Cubeo material culture is rather elaborate for a tropical forest 121
tribe, but not as fully developed as is that of the more westerly tribes 28
that have a cotton technology. Material culture has been treated by 32
Koch-Grünberg and is, moreover, fully covered in the *Handbook of South American Indians*. I shall confine myself then to a discussion of manufactures as it bears upon an understanding of Cubeo social life.

There are few products made jointly by men and women. Men 28
ordinarily make all objects that are of wood or fiber, while women 32
specialize in ceramics. Thus, the great bulk of material equipment 462
has been made by men. This includes the house, all baskets and trays, hammocks, canoes, signal drums, ceremonial objects, musical instruments, weapons, and fishing gear. Women make pottery, including the large ceramic plate of the manioc oven and the hourglass-shaped pottery hearthstones. They also prepare gourds as dishes and water containers since these supplement pottery dishes. There is a [415] small basket (*póbü*) in which personal articles are kept, and this is made by young girls as well as by men. The only product that is jointly made is the *pediba*, the manioc grating board. Men make the board, execute a design on it, and women insert the bits of stone that form the grating surface. Whatever is made is either as a specific gift or to replace an object or utensil that is no longer serviceable. Men 462
work slowly and for short intervals, so that the completion of a 461

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anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden.

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away.

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends.

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikū*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikū* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy.

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Fig. 6. Old *Bahúkiwa* couple.

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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

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INSIGNIA OF STATUS

Ornamentation is for the Cubeo a requisite for basic status; one might say for human status. The Macú, for example, are sometimes derided as "not human," and it is noted in evidence that they have no ornaments. The very first day a newborn infant is in the house, it is painted with a jaguar design and its mother puts twine cord on its wrists and a seed necklace around its neck. An undecorated child is a rarity, an extraordinarily underprivileged creature. The common denominator of personal ornamentation includes face and body painting with red pigment (*ururú*) and a necklace. The wristlets of children have the magical purpose of fattening the arms, but the necklaces are sheer insignia of status. A popular trade item around Indian tribes is a necklace of silver plates in a triangle shape which all the Indians of the region call "butterflies." Necklaces of various seeds are common for men and women. In the past, ear ornaments and lower-lip labrets were common to both sexes. The Cubeo are proud and sensitive about their personal appearance. They apply pigment with great care, using dye rollers to print a design and pigment applicators that will apply parallel lines. Ornaments are always in good condition and of good quality.

The minimum ornamental requirement for full standing as an adult male is the complex feather headdress, *mápena* (feathers of the red *arara* [macaw]), which actually includes feathers of many different birds mounted on a crown of plaited fiber as well as a rope of monkey hair. These feathers, painstakingly gathered and put together, are handled with very great care, kept in a long fiber box where they are laid away always slowly, ceremonially, and in proper order, to be taken out for a dance. A man who does not own *mápena* borrows from the headman or from another sibmate so that he can take part in certain dances. All men possess some part of the full set of feathers, but only a headman will feel the strong obligation to possess the full set. No one among the *Bahúkiwa* owned a complete *mápena*, but this poverty was not too disturbing to them. The downstream *Hehénewa* were well provided. *Mápena*, however, are not a mark of sib rank.

The *Bahúkiwa* attitude toward *mápena* is ambivalent: their joy in possession is tempered by fear of death because of it. They do not make the headdresses but buy them from other Tucanoan and Arawakan tribes, and they suspect that whoever has sold them the feathers has included a spell that will kill the owner if he should own the full set. One informant explained that the feathers have power

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Strongest feelings and strongest actions are provoked by sorcery. Most illness and death is attributed to the evil designs of medicine men, or laymen who command the arts of sorcery or of administering mysterious poisons. The Cubeo fear of sorcery and of "poisoning" is acute. They are aroused not only by the illness or death of a sibmate or of a sibmate's wife, but they anticipate that he who has injured or killed one is determined to kill them all. They vow a violent death to sorcerers either by direct action or by retaliatory sorcery. In all the cases I heard of, the accused sorcerer left in time and when he returned anger against him had evaporated. Countersorcery was the most common form of retaliation. There are also men who allegedly wander about at night killing or troubling people at random. When caught, such men are said to be torn to shreds with fishhooks and then abandoned to die of their wounds.

Fig. 7. *Bahúkiwa* headman.

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826 cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating.
• [302] The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to an-
[763] other, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

844 When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca
854 on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers)
302 she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red
[789] pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment,
[856] gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on
[603] the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these
[606] things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

546 For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the
[262] river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others
[372] in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their
[828] dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.

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846 789 262 fish that are mentioned. For example, a small fish that has many small bones, the *dóthe*, is addressed, "Son of the *dóthe* have no spines. Do not cause harm to our offspring. Allow [yourself] to be eaten."

[603] In the case of the aracú, the most common fish in the diet, the grandfather who is reciting the spells takes up a fish and cuts off its tail. If he did not do this, the tail when eaten would grow into a full-sized fish in the stomach and kill the child. After each spell has been recited the grandfather blows tobacco smoke, wafting his breath by an outward motion of the hand. The magical mechanism, as it was explained to me, is that the recitation invokes the fish and the blowing (*pupúdjü*) has the effect of dispelling the danger.

Capsicum is spelled and blown so that its odor, which has the power to dispel ghosts and spirits, will not harm the child. Manioc has a disturbing odor when raw. This odor will be harmful and the manioc itself will not nourish if the spell is not recited. The child will remain thin. Eating unspelled manioc cake will also cause the child's skin to become as hard and coarse as the bark of a tree. Each variety of manioc, however, must be mentioned by name.

For birds, however, the small white eagle is invoked because this bird, the *towáve*, eats all birds that the Cubeo eat. The spell states that as the "odor of burned birds" does not harm the *towáve* so it will not harm the human young. Similarly, for animals the young of the jaguar are invoked in behalf of all the game they eat. However, whereas the *towáve* is addressed generally in behalf of all birds, the spell for the jaguar must mention each of the animals he eats by name. Again, the danger to be avoided is in each case that of the odor of cooking.

846 789 The spell that is chanted as the river is "blown" refers to the anacondas, asking them not to notice the people who are bathing. The cigarette smoke as it is wafted over the river is told to form a heavy coating as of miriti fibers so that nothing that is below water can come to the surface.

The reference of these spells seems ambiguous for the Cubeo. It is clear, of course, that what is sought is protection for the newborn infant. Since the infant has as yet no name and must be referred to only by the general designation *pwénte hyédokü* (offspring person), the spells, my informant explained, have beneficial effects for all offspring of the sib. [551]

[302] The man who "blows" the river coats his hands and feet with genipa so that he seems to be wearing gloves and stockings. The genipa has magical power to dispel water spirits. He carries a handful of burning faggots from the hearth of the natal household while

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Fig. 8. *Bahúkiwa* mother and child.

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paánwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[1] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[1] She is also known as *nomínyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

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831
832 The Cubéo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
[171] age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]." Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavímiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831
825 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
773 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831
826 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
[833] have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much
● [302] trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[1] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, depilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.
302

[1] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pwd*, and armpit hair is *pwd buteri* (literally, hair tobacco).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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765 574 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to apply personal body decorations. [532]

[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later arrivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by donning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All complete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house, and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 574 535 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open doorway. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From within Sloth and *Máwayo* thrust their long poles out at them and "beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers." Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the [537] dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short, and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering *iii iii iii*, and having completed one circle, dance counterclockwise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counter- [622] clockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. During this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhõ*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yaúl*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedídya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

/p. 54-B/

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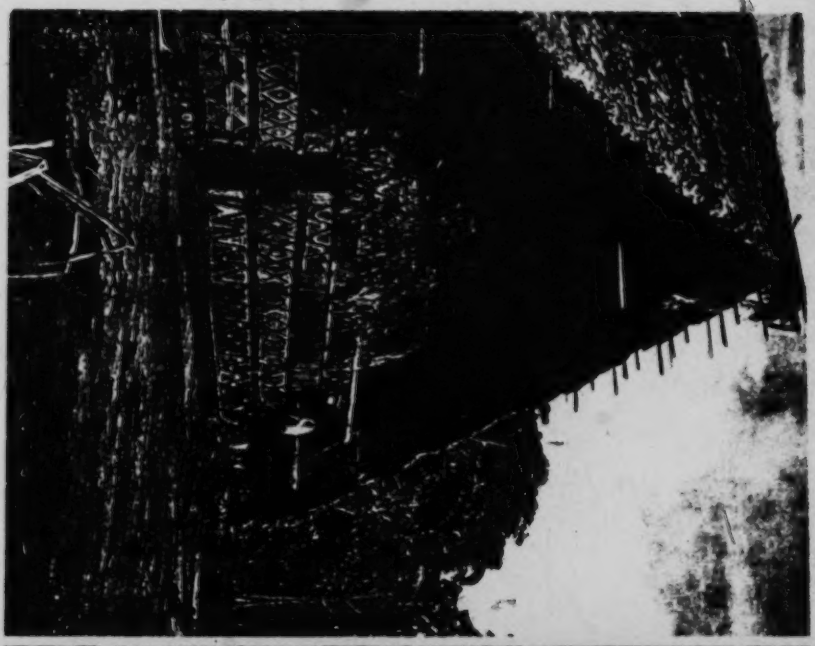

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

4

The Forest Addicts

141 The Tukano are small: a man rarely exceeds five foot six and the women are
164 often no more than four foot ten inches. To see a cripple or deformed person
291 is unusual. They are healthy and immensely strong. A man wears no more
301 than his loincloth, today cut from a piece of trade cotton but formerly a strip of beaten barkcloth. Around his neck are three or four coils of minute white porcelain beads, which are among the most valued objects of exchange; a tight string of black berries is strung on *cumare* palm fibre above each elbow. The ears are often pierced with a short cane jutting out from the lobe; sometimes a feather is put into the cane, or a flower replaces the earplug. With their short, cropped hair and well-proportioned bodies they stand out as strong figures, beautifully adapted to the forests in which they live.

481 Their gait is jerky rather than slow and relaxed, indeed they almost run;
147 whether the Indian is out hunting or carrying heavy loads he always moves in the same way. We could only look on amazed as our fifteen-gallon fuel drums were carried for two- or three-hour stretches with no apparent difficulty. They only showed any signs of wilting in strong sunlight; an Indian would rather travel by night than on an open river in the midday sun; his
302 home is in the cool forest or under the dark eaves of the *maloca*. His face
411 painted red with *karayuru*, a bow and a quiver of curare-tipped arrows in his
609 hand, he has little sympathy for strangers and would rather remain undisturbed. It is therefore not surprising that the Indian's face tells you little.
152 When he stares at you with his black eyes, it is as though you were peering into the cold unknown, and there is little warmth in his expression. We very seldom noticed any demonstration of affection among the older people. Husband
593 and wife live together rather as a matter of arrangement than through love,
85 and tenderness was only shown to the younger children. The old people,
888 once unfit to go out hunting or to work in the plantation, may be neglected in times of shortage and even left to die. They are no longer of any use to the society, so it is best they go; for theirs is a harsh world where only the fittest can survive.

576 Although the Tukano seem outwardly reserved, lacking in affection and often proud, they are invariably very courteous. Their greetings are formal – just as we shake hands they always exchange a lengthy stream of words. It is

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

796 534 the people that the festival would start that night. The low booms rang out across the forest like blasts on a ship's foghorn. To the south, near the Caquetá, giant wooden drums were slung on a slant from two central poles of the *maloca* and beaten in a secret code as warning signals to other members of the tribe. The *mangwaré* drums were the jungle telegraph of Amazonia and their signals could be heard over twenty miles away.

796 574 More and more families arrived at the riverside port, where they left their canoes moored to the bank or tied to each other with thin strands of liana. Some thirty canoes formed a series of star-like patterns with the water rushing down between them, haphazardly tied, yet buoyant and secure. Each family made its way up the steep sandy path to the *maloca*: the men with their paddles, some with fishing rods, and many with panpipes strung to their hammocks; the women bent low under heavy loads of manioc and their babies on their hips. Here the head of each family was greeted by Bréo and shown where they could sling their hammocks around the sides of the house. The women handed the manioc to Wanina, his young wife – he had two, but the elder could no longer bear him children.

796 273 The amount of time it takes for the festival to be prepared depends on the amount of *chicha* to be consumed. With over a hundred people present, four days were barely enough for the manioc roots to be rubbed down, the poisonous juice extracted and then boiled to form the basis of *chicha*. The starch sediment was baked over the clay ovens into giant wafer-thin biscuits. The boiling liquid was poured into the long *chicha* canoe which lay on the floor between two of the central posts; the toasted cassavas were broken into the liquid and fermentation began. The *chicha* gained rapidly in potency and the canoe was covered with an exquisitely woven cane mat like Japanese lattice. One ceremonial canoe was not enough, and another was brought from the river to be filled with yet more fermenting *chicha*.

796 [787] In the evening the men sat chewing cocaine. Led by the shaman they consulted the spirits and their subdued mumblings continued far into the night. Their crouched bodies, lit only by the flickering of the resinous *turi* torchwood, reminded us of the semi-human rock carvings of their ancestors.

• 302 796 The *chicha* had fermented, the coca was prepared, the *maloca* was now a seething mass of people. The afternoon before the festival began, Wanina and the shaman's wife began to paint the bodies of the men. First deep red *karayuru* was smeared down the front of the torso, the thighs and along each arm with firm strokes of the fingers. A black liquid, the boiled juice from the leaves of a tree growing in their *chagras*, was painted on to the body with a three-pronged piece of cane. The hands and feet were totally blackened to above the wrists and ankles, and the arms and legs patterned with a lattice of

A head-dress made from the feathers of the royal crane.

[see p. 78-A]

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

diagonal lines. Then the women painted their own faces with *karayuru* and blackened their hands and feet.

As the sun's last rays filtered into the *maloca* and the mumblings of the council of elders died down, the shaman left the dark interior and stood in front of the men's doorway. In his hand he carried the *Kurubeti*, the sacred pebble stave. Intricate circles of blue and purple humming-bird feathers adorned one end, a swollen spearhead formed the other. This swelling was produced by soaking a bulge in the wood in water, then inserting this into a banana stem and heating the spearhead over a fire. The swollen wood is cut open and three pebbles are inserted. During cooling the wood shrinks and the pebbles are locked in the cavity. The shaman stood pointing the stave away from the *maloca*. He hit it with his right hand and the stave swayed from side to side in front of his body. The rattling of the pebbles prevented the evil spirits from entering the *maloca*. In the days of tribal war, we were told, among the people living further to the south, each warrior carried one of these staves and after victory would dance himself into a frenzy, beating the stave against his shoulder.

With darkness the festival began. Bréo carefully rolled back the cane mat from the *chicha* canoe and the women handed round gourd after gourd, full of the bitter drink. More and more *chicha* was handed round to groups of people sitting contentedly by their family fires. Some of the younger men began to play their panpipes, but as yet there was no cohesion; the groups seemed rather to be competing with one another and different tunes came from all sides, one drowning the other. Many of these men had put sprigs of sweet-smelling leaves under their loin-cloth strings and berry arm-bands. The scent from the leaves was curiously sensuous, like sweet lemon, and used as an elixir of love by the Tukano during their festivals.

The same confused cacophony of dancing and panpipes continued well into the night; it was the young men's duty to keep the shaman awake, for not once during the course of the festival was he allowed to sleep. Small groups moved up and down the *maloca*, joyfully playing their panpipes as they danced, then they retired to their family fires and drank more *chicha*. The shaman remained apart, sitting on his stool in the centre of the *maloca*, gazing as if in a trance. At his side lay a calabash of coca and the sacred pot of *yajé*, the most powerful narcotic used by Amazonian Indians. Prepared from the boiled juices of a jungle creeper, the red liquid gives the shaman hallucinations and he is able to predict the future progress of the festival. Suddenly he summoned Bréo to his side. All the men came to the centre of the *maloca* carrying their wooden stools and sat down near him. With heads bent low the men started a muffled chant, answering in unison the solo

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Tukano profile and festival head-dress. [see p. 78-B]

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of